/104 cont./

122 The cadet was familiar with only two forms of activity: he slept or ate. It was indeed a pleasure, however, to sleep within four walls once more, although at night the wind often whistled through strongly. And there were all kinds of things to eat that were
• 262 not furnished on the march. There was plenty of sugar cane; the cooked mandioca root with roasted bacon cubes was a dish for the
[225] gods. a piglet was slaughtered. a few chickens forfeited their lives; the young chaps had also killed a tapir one day under a regular volley of small shot. it furnished a very tasty ragout. The women sent fresh, crisp "beijús," a simple baked product made of mandioca

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Antonio

Quirino

262 flour, of the shape and approximately the taste of matzoth. Since
292 there was no shortage of rapadura /a crude form of sugar; see the glossary, p.172 /, "jacuba" was constantly being prepared as refreshment: in a gourd bowl a plentiful amount of rapadura, a plentiful amount of farinha /manioc flour; see the glossary p.171 /.
231 and water as desired. Even milk appeared. In the evening the
526 calves were separated from their mothers; the herd was driven into the "curral" /corral; see glossary, p.170 /, and the calves were lassoed with a great hullabaloo, while a large and appreciative
526 audience /105/ sat all around on the fence. That was something

/157 cont./

241 the process of being charred. The pillar of smoke that had drawn our attention for several days is explained: the forest was
122 being cleared in order to lay out a planting. Eagerly scouting, we climb up, and again we are wandering along the forest path.

[262] /158/ "Beijû," somebody cries in a suppressed voice and triumphantly points to a few crumbs, which give us the prospect of new provisions, "they have beijûs," each one murmurs to the man behind him.

[40] [329] [175] There -- a feather-decorated arrow leans against a tree -- the tube of uhê, the wood from which the Imperador /emperor/ of the legend created the Bakaïrí. We become more serious, and even the Negroes, who, when they are afraid, like to try to give themselves courage by chattering march on silently. Now and then small fires, alive or burned out. We have already been
[139] walking three-quarters of an hour. But see there, a new clearing -- a charming grove of nut-bearing bacayuva palms -- a few kernels of maize on the ground, again a bit of forest and "Casas -- houses," the first man cries.

341 342 Three houses of the form of a beehive become visible; in the first hut, which blocks our path, the low door stands open. In the dark we make out a few heads. A completely naked
Cos [291] Indian steps out, young, well built, closes the door, and comes toward us, in his hand a long arrow shaft without a point, which he holds horizontally in front of him.

I instruct Antonio to call out a greeting to him in Bakaïrí. "Kuáino," cries Antonio almost breathless, and -- hail to the antiguos -- the Indian answers in Bakaïrí. Eagerly he steps up to Antonio, leans against him, and both embrace as they walk on -- both talking at the same time, both trembling all over with fear and excitement.

[302] A joyful feeling of release overcame us all, and when Manoel, discovering that our dear savage wears a nicely shaved tonsure, now finally recovers his speech and cries out, "Oh, why that's a priest, the compadre is a person," general laughter breaks out, and everybody talks at once.

/159 cont./

862 S74 It contributed no little to the enhancement of the holiday mood that plenty of beijús, as well as puvai /see the glossary, p. 172/, brick-like pieces of dried mandioca pulp, and, above all, mingau /see the glossary, p. 171/ were served. Everyone [292] was separately offered in large bowls three kinds: a whitish, thin, scarcely refreshing beaten paste of starch flour, another, yellow one, tasting of squash, and a third one, warm and pleasantly sweet, toward which everyone crowded in order to grant the palate this half forgotten quality of sensation.

609 Most delightful was the absolutely equal treatment that was given us and the soldiers. Chico, this African ape-man, even seemed to impress the little people particularly, and he, like all the others, leaning on his gun, accepted the homage with great dignity and drank in enormous draughts.

It cannot be said that the barbarians actually expressed great astonishment. In general they did not pay any attention to skin color and beard: true, they admired the clothing, the knives, the open glass, but as children who are not experiencing this for the first time do with their presents at Christmas. A [152] demonstration that filled them with terror; the women ran away, the men winced and, puzzled, joined in the laughter when they saw our gaiety. To avoid a repetition, however, they urgently begged "Ña, Ña -- it is enough." At the strange /160/ appearance of our dogs the professor was so highly moved that he manifested the best intention of shooting them dead.

12 August.

437 439 The Bakairí paid us a return visit with wife and child. They were heavily laden with beijús. Soon an enthusiastic barter with the soldiers was in progress, the latter bartered for arrows or feathers and puvas in exchange for buttons and worn articles of clothing. The buttons, which could be strung on the belt-string, were highly prized. The guests, however, especially preferred [554] knives, plates, and spoons. The tribal sorceress ran about busily; in vain she speculated on a cooking pot, which she excitedly examined from all sides; but she won a spoon, a tin plate, and

/172 cont./

the more uncertain I am in abstracting the common features. The Kuikuro has his foot and half of his lower thigh painted red, like stockings. the upper thighs are covered with a sooty black, in which, however, arched stripes are left blank. On his back he has two red stripes, and in addition black arm-bands. Numerous scratches which are made with the tooth of the peixe-cachorro (dogfish). The Bakairí, too, are painted more than usual with red. one has a black stripe on either side from eye to ear; another has painted himself black over the middle of his forehead, nose, lips, and chin, and bright brick-red on the sides of the forehead and the face. Among some, the hair, too, is saturated with the red oil. Below the knees are bands of /Illustration appears here/ /173/ buriti straw; a skein of cotton, colored a dirty reddish brown, is tied around the waist. Some have strings or bands of cotton wound over the ankles or under the knees, around the legs, or around the upper arms. There is no uniformity anywhere.

The tonsure is shaved with a bent piece of spear grass. Its diameter is seven centimeters.

To our surprise we also found an iron chisel tip and on a child a little string of blue beads. We could not find out definitely how these had found their way here. I interpreted their description and Antonio's unclear account to mean that they had been brought back from a tribe on the lower Paranatinga whom the grandfather had visited on a raiding expedition.

Even in Aldea II the men had become happily excited by the discovery of tobacco seed. smoking was also done here. The leaves were so dry that they could be rubbed almost to powder. they were rolled into cigarettes about two decimeters long, and the fresh green leaf of an unknown tree was split lengthwise and used as the wrapping. This wrapper burned with a pleasant, balsam odor. The smoke was inhaled.

The women made excellent beiju. it tasted like fresh French rolls. We also ate a fish ragout à la cornille, of which we would have liked to have had more than they gave us.

[Text continues on P. 59]

162 /58 cont./ unfortunately, she scratched her back far too often,
621 and though this may occasionally have occurred out of embarrassment,
515 nevertheless lice had their visible part in it.

[262] Eva's friend, about twelve years old, "my intended" (Pl. 5, third from the right), was in the habit of picking them out and eating them. In general this one had all the good things in the village, and many

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Fig. 5. "Eva," Tumayana's daughter.

162 beads that I had given others I later found around her neck. She was the
621 little daughter of the deceased chief and his /59/ heiress. Her uncle
[122] Tumayana was only the provisional chief; if I had followed Paleko's
[123] very seriously meant suggestion and had married his niece, he would have had to turn over the government to me. Even today I cannot deny that,
[291] quite apart from the excellent match with which there was associated no greater demands in the way of dress than a string of beads and a piece of bark-bast the size of a small human ear, a better opportunity of becoming acquainted with the ethnology of the Kuliseh could scarcely have been imagined. I saw little of the other women, with the exception,
[142] perhaps, of the "Egyptian," who also came over from the second village, a tall greedy person with an Egyptian profile and almond-shaped eyes (Pl. 5, second from the right).

[See P. 28--Ans 1957]

/59 cont./

231 rafters of the smoke vent, and, if he suddenly shot down and raced around us like a wild animal, he was quickly chased back to his observation post, where he looked down, his head bent inquisi-
224 tively and his beak open. /60/ Sometimes one of the little mice
[262] so busily active at night came spying about and, if it did not scamper away in time, was shot with a child's arrow and brought
136 to the women as a roast. Almost constant guests were large black-white striped bees, which, like a butterfly that now and then fluttered into the entrance, would calmly let themselves be seized and put aside. On a hot noonday I often had the feeling of sitting in the midst of a beehive filled with buzzing and droning.

123 It was at this hour on the third day that I fled from the bees
[342] and flies to Paleko's large house and entered it for the first time. It was wonderfully cool and comfortable in there and no annoying insects. Only ants laden with grains of flour marched
[517] down their street to the mandioca pestle. The men were swing-
[574] ing in the hammocks, their chief occupation at home, and
[352] after I had sat a while, for the sake of politeness, on the stool of honor, which was as high as a cigar box, I soon followed their example.

342 One had the feeling of being in a huge beehive, fortunately without the bees. The ground plan was almost circular with a diameter of 15 meters; two mighty posts standing nine meters high and three and a half meters apart, supported in the center the huge straw dome, the framework of which consisted of horizontal bamboo rings and over these vertical poles bent upward toward the vent. It was smoke-blackened, glistening like tar. The walling all around, above which it rose, a tightly closed ring of posts one and a half meters high, interrupted only by two door entrances opposite each other, which were much
[352] too low for me. From the wall towards the interior, in the direction of the radii, the hammocks were stretched, fastened on either end to particularly strong posts, so that the outer space
353 was divided into a number of rooms, albeit open. The large center space around the main posts and under the vent, which

/61 cont./

[512] [152] [278] The tacitum Indians, men and women, chattered constantly, and Eva's delightful laughter rang out merrily. The women were all busy. One was scraping a reddish bark which, when cooked, furnishes a curative brew, a second was pounding mandioca grains in a mortar. Now and then a swallow was brought to one of the men in the hammock. A beautiful [272] picture there by the flickering fire that leaped up at the enormous kettle; the naked woman with long hair was skimming off the milk-like, gently bubbling foam of the pũserego in a little pot and pouring it back again and again with a vigorous swing of her arm. Others stepped up, yours truly as well, and tasted, licking their fingers. My intended looked very trim, [231] too, her "raven-black Mongolian hair" had glints of faded light brown, and she was squatting in front of three discontentedly cawing green parakeets which she was feeding out of [262] a little pot. Then my turn came; she placed a freshly baked, golden yellow beiiũ flat-cake in front of me and did not forget to remark that it was her own handiwork.

Fat Yapü had fallen asleep. I, too, was overcome by a pleasant weariness in the unfamiliar, mood-evoking equableness of the domestic activity; I could not resist the pleasant invitation to take a midday nap, although in the largest hammock there I squirmed like a fish in the net.

I had slept soundly. The picture had changed. The women [515] sat outside on the plaza, five in a row one behind the other, busily engaged in delousing. Anyone who caught a little [262] animal placed it on the tip of the tongue and swallowed the delicacy or gave it to the original owner, who received it from the rear in her upturned right hand. The men were attentively watching swallows, "iri"; Luchu shot at them without hitting them; when a pair took its prey in the air, this aroused general interest, and good old Paleko furnished explanatory comments. Everywhere dolce far niente. Only the ants did not celebrate; large carregadores marched by, heavily laden with pieces of stalks and charcoal.

/62/
342 Tumayaua's house was a little smaller; here Eva's children peeped out of the little hammocks, but otherwise the picture was the same.

122 The lodgings pleased me more than the second part of the
• 262 room-and-board. As far as my diet was concerned, it was bad. I did not see meat at all during my stay in the village, if I except two mice that were shot. Fish was given to me rarely and in small portions as though it were one of the costliest of dishes: once a little pot of creatures the length of a little finger in a saltless broth with a corncob stalk as a spoon; twice a piece of
[252] grilled fish barely hand-size and served on beijú as on a small plate; and once a piece of electric eel, almost too fat, but good and with a skin like smoked eel. Then once I was allowed to dip beijú in fish oil, which would not have been a special delicacy even for the Bakaïrí if in their childhood they had been obliged to
[252] take cod-liver oil. I do not find anything else recorded in my journal -- on the other hand, on the first day my intended shared with me roasted maize kernels which she held in her lap as she squatted on the ground; occasionally she also brought me a couple of mangabas, and during the inquiry about vocabulary, Eva offered me ants, a palm-boring beetle which still had half a leg, and a fat larva, all of which were supposed to be "iwakulukulu," the superlative of everything good and fine in Bakaïrí. There was no
272 lack of mandioca flat-cakes or beijús and drinks. The festive drink, püserego, however, lasted for only two days; greenish gray like soapy water, warm and covered with bubbly foam, it never-
262 theless had a pleasant, insipid, sweet taste. The beijús were very different in quality, depending on the type of flour; they were usually crumbled and, mixed with water, taken as a drink.

[122] On the other hand, my hosts were heartily willing to relish the little that I had with me in the way of beans and salt and urgently begged for them. There was some difficulty with the beans. Paleko and I together cooked them, but both for the first time in our lives. I kindled the fire and he fetched sticks of wood; we set an earthen pot with the beans in it on three stones and cooked
533 away. Paleko sang to it, plaiting his basket and beating time softly
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/74 cont./

226 and sought to drive the fish into them. It was an amusing sight: the girls extremely agile, the men less quick, fat Yapü in particular not at all in his element apparently, much laughing and splashing, in the air a few hovering dragonflies and humming bees without number, on the shore under the tree the busily commenting old Paleko, who leaned with his left hand on a stick and held pressed under his upper arm on the same side the very superfluous stone ax. The fish were called poniũ or poriũ, the jejú of the Brazilians.

482 [122] The bark canoe that I had ordered was ready on September 18; the stone ax had worked slowly, but very neatly. Four men carried the vessel to the river; on their shoulders they had placed rings plaited out of brown bast and with exactly the same appearance as those our market women wear on their heads.

123 [114] I had now been alone with the good Bakaïri for more than a week and I noticed that they were becoming somewhat impatient. They asked far too often when the "younger brothers" were coming. What I had carried with me in the way of valuables was long since in their possession anyway; even my améma ikũto ("figure of the lizard"), a reptile with glass scales and ruby-red eyes, which they had greedily attempted to get belonged to them.

But our good understanding remained the same up to the final hour. If it had been up to me, I would have preferred to [262] [122] 157 spend the entire rainy season with them, although I could not get rid of a sourish taste in my throat from the eternal starchy food and I was also suffering from digestive upsets. My first impressions about the peaceable and sympathetic character of my hosts needed no correction. The elders were wise and solicitous, the young people vigorous and agile, the women industrious and domestic, all of them well-meaning, a little vain, and, with the exception of a few mothers absorbed by their duties, always gay and talkative. All were honest. No one ever took anything of mine, lost things were often brought to me, anything that I had received in trade was always regarded as my property.

/131 cont./

000 would take exaggerated care of them by removing them on occasions when even for children it would not be necessary.

846 In the first Bakaïrí village the population had increased by one young soul. Pauhaga had become a father and was observing the lying-in period along with his wife. I shall come back to the scene, which seemed comical to us, in discussing the couvade. The maize was a succulent green; we were offered excellent, somewhat dry maize beijús. My tobacco planting on village plaza had shot up tremendously and was fenced in all around by a palisade.

241 262 249 417 [179] [291]

Fig. 8.
Indians disguised as Europeans.

But what did our astonished eyes catch sight of behind Paleko's house? A new construction, already far advanced, of a strange kind. Or rather, one of very familiar appearance. The Bakaïrí had taken our rancho at Independencia as a model and, instead of their beehive, had started a house with a triangular gable /132/ and a two-sided roof. We had believed we were seeing something genuine in a remote corner, and already it was disappearing. "The first glimpse of light," says Bastian, "will also be the last."

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123 [415] Tumayaua, who was going along to Independencia, nevertheless carried out the official farewell in Maigéri. He handed me two large gourd bowls. A little while after that he came to fetch me, seized me vehemently by the arm, and, shouting loudly all around, led me from the hut to the beam in the middle of the plaza and, with a sort of enthusiasm, pushed me down on to the seat. Soon four Karaiben were sitting there in a row, side by side.

B /132 cont./
123 Then he dragged up one of the nicely plaited storage baskets
43] three-quarters of a meter high and, boasting happily, put it be-
[285] fore us as a present. The best was yet to come, however. A
B round mat was placed on the ground, the chief called, and out
[262] of the houses all the women and children came running and
slapped a beijú onto the mat, each one running back immediately
to make room. The agile flurry with which the beijús came
flying was charming. Some 16 cakes were lying there. Then
"ále" was said and we were dismissed. We, of course, outdid
ourselves in praise of the hospitality of the Bakaïrí and secretly
made up our mind to pay them back handsomely in Independencia.

B Since a heavy thunderstorm broke out, we stayed in the vil-
123 lage the last night. It was raining in torrents outside and
Tumayaua was describing his journeys. We all sat for a long time
around the fire, which the Indians let blaze up wildly by reck-
lessly tearing bunches of straw out of the wall of the festival hut.
Luchu had taken possession of the black frock-coat as his sole
article of clothing; another man had decorated his ear with a
fishhook. My erstwhile intended - it pains me not to be able
to keep this a secret -- honored me with scarcely a glance.
The song of woman's constancy!

000 /The remainder of Ch. VI, pp. 132-137, and Ch. VII, pp. 138-152, are omitted in the translation./

/153/ Chapter VIII

1. Geography and Classification of the Tribes of the Schingú Source-region

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131
823 The old chief of the Suyá, distinguished from his companions
S by an extremely modest lip-plug, had enumerated for us in 1884
[115] the long list of tribes that were settled on the upper Schingú /Xingu/ and with his finger had drawn in the sand the source rivers on whose banks they lived. Cf. Durch Central-brasilien /Through Central Brazil/, page 214 /see 1: Steinen, this file, pp. 104-106/. His 13 tribal names had tempted us to undertake

/212 cont./

*171 244 In the cultivation of mandioca, which today, along with maize, is penetrating into the farthest corners of Africa, as though both of these purely American plants had been native there forever, the metal-less South American has gained achievement which need not fear any comparison with other parts of the world. Today there is a cultivated, harmless species, but the [252] [272] original root, which was found only on the Schingú, first had to be divested of its strongly toxic juice, the expressed flour, obtained by grating and pounding, first had to be roasted before a foodstuff was produced, and, to be sure, one of many uses, in a solid state and as a pappy drink, Manihot "utilissima." It far surpasses maize in importance in the household of our Indians. It furnishes the principal food and is really responsible [262] [412] for having forced the natives, who received it from more advanced tribes, to become sedentary, for its preparation presupposes a series of procedures requiring patience and presupposes implements, which, like the grating board studded with palm spines, could be produced only at a great cost of time and work with the [252] inferior tools. Unknown on the upper Schingú is the ingenious typytí, a tube plaited out of elastic stalks, which is filled with the grated mass and, pulled lengthwise by means of a weight, presses out the poisonous juice; our Indians filtered and pressed the juice through plaited sieves.

*171 273 Of greater interest, however, is the fact that the method of fermenting larger quantities of extract by means of chewing balls of flour or kernels of maize, which is used today probably everywhere in South America where maize and mandioca are cultivated by natives, was still unknown in our region; also, nothing was known there about the preparation of pajauará, popular among the North Karaiben, where the fresh beijús soaked in water are wrapped in leaves and buried for a few days. /213/ The püserego [272] of the Schingú does not have an intoxicating effect; it merely represents the tastiest pap-beverage, it is a soup, not an alcoholic drink. No palm wine is made either; one becomes intoxicated only with dancing or, if one wishes, with tobacco, and achieved what was humanly possible in the quantitative consumption of the pap-beverages. On the other hand, the Kamayurá

/218 cont./

*171 174 433 I shall sum up. Ancient agriculture is most compatible with the type of hunting practiced here. The Indians were primarily fishermen. The yield in their area on the upper course of a river was not sufficient for pure ichthyophagy; on the other hand, it was not small during the months when the fish traveled upstream in the rising water and were found in all the canals and lagoons in great numbers, or when, as the water receded, the opportunity for a catch in the artificially barricaded parts of the river branches became considerably greater. Fishing and *171 174 433 hunting, furthermore, furnished the indispensable tools. There were no domestic animals in our sense; dogs were unfamiliar 23 [343] to the native. He took pleasure in the colored birds, whose feathers he sometimes pulled out, especially in the talking parrots and cawing araras; he let those that he happened to catch young walk around in the village, woodpecker or heron or curassow, and kept in huge pole-cages, for the edification of the community, the spitting eagle, Harpyia destructor, or some other predatory bird; he had lizards hanging by their tails from the hammock, so that they would clean up a bit among the annoying crickets -- he had not succeeded any further in the utilization of animals, and though wild plants were established near the village to be used as desired, the rearing of edible [825] animals was not considered. /219/ Indeed, the attitude that the [262] Indian took toward the animal kingdom made him feel a definite repugnance about ultimately consuming animals that he had raised, just as we do not eat dogs.

*171 174 433 The relative sedentariness connected with the life of the fisherman could not become permanent until the women learned to plant, to make pots, and to prepare flour. Although agriculture on the Schingú had already reached respectable improvement, nevertheless there were small indications that showed what its origin had been, at least here. People planted the useful plants found in the vicinity, each tribe acquired its own experience on its own soil, and they were disseminated by the 174 773 women who, in war or peace, came to other tribes. The fact that the Bakaïrí-Karaiben were once furthered in this way in

/300 cont./

* 171 527 535 against appearing in the "flute house" at an inappropriate time, though they may hope to come out again alive, or at most only half dead. Carnival on the Kulisehu is also followed by a period of fasting, for it does not end -- the reason is not one connected with the cult -- before everything that is there has been eaten [462] and drunk insofar as possible. The women have an enormous • [262] job satisfying the demands for beijús and drinks; they must pound, [272] boil, and bake incessantly, and this necessity has probably also contributed somewhat to their being kept away from the dancing, so that they could meanwhile carry out their duties.

535 Bakaïrí. On the Rio Novo and Paranatinga the old customs are still observed. "Everybody dances like the wild Bakaïrí," said Antonio, "tudo dansa como Bakaïrí brabo." He described to me the festival held last April, when the people from the Rio Novo had invited those of the Paranatinga. They danced the yatuka dance, the makanri, and the imeo. Yatuka is a fish dance; wooden fish are worn on the head, especially the black pakú and the matrincham; heads of men and women are made of calabashes painted black and white or black and red and surrounded with Bromelia hair.

Makanari is a general term. The Bakaïrí calls almost everything and anything that is part of his dance adornment makanari; he calls specific dances makanari. "bakaïrí makanári zóto," the Bakaïrí is master of the makanari. It is the dance of his tribe. The imeo is a type of makanari, a specific figure. In fact, it seems that the concept of makanari was originally narrower and [532] referred to a specific dance with straw plaiting. Among the docile Bakaïrí there are no wooden masks. Here the principal makanari is the bat dance, and, to be sure, semímo, the small [533] bat, and aluá, the large bat. Antonio recited the text of the aluá dance* for me, but, in spite of a great deal of trouble, it

535 539 *One man sings: ohuhaaha-áhá yumáa ohú..... yumarí uvanuká, yumari uvanuká huyaná vitá öö....yohohohú. Then another: mauá káua

/334 cont./

*171 551 [124] One of the women in the Paranatinga village was called makála = tujujú stork. The names of the men were usually obtained without difficulty; sometimes there was a little reluctance and it was preferred that a friend give the information. One Bakaïrí allegedly had no name because his parents had died early. From the women on the Kulisehu I always received only the answer, "I am a woman"; however, I neglected to ask a third person.

*171 553 797 I have described the custom of exchanging names; cf. pages 115 and 122. It explains why the Indians make so little fuss about submitting to Christian baptism. To them it means simply a ceremony by means of which they lose their old name.

*171 844 [847] [292] Birth and couvade. Abortions are said to take place frequently. The women are afraid of childbirth. Among the Bakaïrí they make a tea from the root of a campo tree called perovinha. Probably there are also mechanical procedures. The woman gives birth in a kneeling position on the floor, hanging on to a post. The hammock is not supposed to be soiled. Women who demonstrated this to us in pantomime and who knew about it from experience stated emphatically that the pains were great.

*171 846 They soon get up, however, and go to work, and the man goes through the well-known couvade, the male lying-in, during which he adheres to a strict diet, does not touch weapons, and spends most of his time in the hammock. On our return we saw such a couvade in Maigéri in Paleko's house. An actual lying-in room had been /335/ set up by stretching two man-high walls of hanging buriti leaves from one of the main posts to the outer wall. In this way a three-cornered segment was closed off. I was gladly allowed to enter so that I could give the child beads. Inside there were stretched four hammocks, sheltering two women with babies and two men. A strong odor of pikí, coming from rubbings, filled the room. The babies were kurápa, ill, weak, [755] the parents complained. The fathers and mothers were ceaselessly occupied with blowing on them, and, to be sure, with hollow-sounding noises with the mouth nearly closed, which was hardly interrupted for a moment throughout the following night. The [514] husbands left the house only to relieve themselves; they lived ●[262] exclusively on thin pogu, mandioca cakes crumbled in water.

/335 cont./

*171 846 [262] Everything else would be harmful for the child; it would be exactly as though the child itself were eating meat, fish, or fruit.

Now nothing is more obvious than to connect the remarkable custom, which is beneficial to the women, with the hunting life; the man should stay near the wife and child during the difficult hours and the first days and should not roam about outside; there was no better means for this than to put him on a diet. And, no matter how the custom originated, it is clear that it afforded this advantage, and it is at least quite understandable that the women were in favor of it, and it became firmly established.

[183] On the modern Paranatinga, however, where it is being neglected, the women are discontented, not because they suffer under it, but because the children do. Even though it benefited the women, that is no reason why the men would have submitted to it. And yet the men do submit to it so generally and with such conviction that one realizes that a deeply rooted, ancient element of popular belief is involved. It is very doubtful whether there is any Indian tribe in Brazil which has not practiced it. One must, if possible, investigate the institution among tribes that were found in undisturbed conditions and have not simply preserved the remnants of old institutions. The Island Karaiben /Island Carib/ usually did not eat or drink anything during the first five days, limited themselves in the following four to a drink made out of cooked mandioca, and then ate more abundantly, but abstained from a few kinds of meat for several months more. "It is not likely," says the excellent Father Breton, "that the husband also screams like the wife in labor; on the contrary, I saw them coming from outside secretively and in a furtive manner one month after the birth, in order to keep their fast in seclusion." They are contemptuous of those who do not observe the custom; they say they feel better doing it and grow older, and they believe that if they omit the custom their illnesses caused by superfluous juices would be passed on to their children.

/343/

171 754 756 The medicine men are differentiated as good and bad. According to Antonio, there are "few among the Bakaïrí and Auetö, more among the Nahuquá, many among the Mehinakú, and too many among the Kamayurá." There were none living on the Paranatinga at the time. Anyone can become one, but it is very difficult. "One must learn a great deal." One is supposed to drink only starchy broth for four months, enjoy no salt and eat no

[262] [785]

[261] [226]

* This fasting is also very good if one wants to excel in the art of shooting fish, and in this case it is sufficient if one does not eat anything but starch-paste for a month. Antonio did this and was very satisfied with the result.

meat, fish, or fruits; one is not supposed to sleep but to drum ceaselessly on the skull with the fists so that the swollen eyes are very painful in the morning, bathe a great deal, scratch arm and chest bloody, etc. Antonio wanted to study medicine, but was afraid of this difficult internship; Felipe made a good start in the same endeavor, but did not succeed, because he had no teacher.

*171 754 The chief art of the accomplished master of sorcery is exhibited in the use of poisons. With these he kills others and he even kills himself in order to be able to change himself into another shape. We are to become acquainted here with a conception of death which takes some getting used to, but which is in direct agreement with the life of the shadow during sleep.

[628] Let us hear first how sickness and death come into the world, in spite of the good medicine-man of one's own village, who with all his might combats the evil one from the foreign village.

[825] [824] The evil one is a bad person whom no one likes because he kills instead of healing, he mixes the poison from wasps, from the tocandyra ant, and from other such animals with oil and resin from the alsmesca and pindahyba in a calabash. From the man whom he wishes to harm he obtains either hair, by stepping on it when it is being cut or even cutting it himself when the man is asleep, or a bit of blood by tossing a finely pointed twig of jatobá, pindahyba, or pau de olho in his direction and then picking

/380 cont./

539 a cigar out of this tobacco and blows on people, they die; /381/
825 but if other people then come and blow on the dead one, he will come to life again and go his way. Cotton, too, and the hammock woven from it come from the sawari. Where the sawari obtained the tobacco and the cotton hammock is not known. It is very rare and lives gregariously downstream on the Paranatinga. It is an animal of the campo cerrado, is somewhat smaller and has a slightly more pointed snout than the irara (Galictis, marten-like, cf. Brehm, Säugetiere /Mammals/ I, page 614) related to it; it climbs and sleeps during the day in tree holes; there are some that are more black, and some that are more white. The description exactly fits the kinkajou, Cercoleptes caudivolvulus, which in its entire build is extraordinarily like the irara, although it is not related to it (cf. the illustration in Brehm, Säugetiere II, page 287, with that of the irara at the place cited). Among the Makuschí /Macusi/, who are closely related to the Bakaïrí linguistically, the kinkajou is called yawari.* According to

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* Schomburgk, Rich. Versuch einer Fauna und Flora von Britisch-Güiana /Attempt at a Flora and Fauna of British Guiana/, Leipzig, 1848, Vol. II, p. 435: "Von Tschudi gives it geographical distribution up to 10° south latitude. The colonists call it yamanack, the Arawaaks wawula, the Macusis yawali, the Warraus uvari."

Brehm, "we know that the kinkajou is widely distributed. It occurs throughout northern Brazil, in Peru, and northward as far as Mexico, in fact, even in southern Louisiana and Florida."

Sawari also had the tobacco that one smokes. The Bakaïrí, however, had obtained this from the karazóto = "master of the fish," a large fish found in the Kulisehu, but not in the Paranatinga. Antonio had also seen it in the Kulisehu, "but not very well."

[262] I myself ate it in Maigéri, where Tumayaua gave me a piece of karazóto; it was very oily. According to the description, it is an electric eel, but I cannot give the meaning as wholly certain.

/418 cont./

171 386 [283] White is chalky white clay, a supply of which is kept in the huts in the form of balls the size of a child's head. The women, when they spin, rub it on the right thigh, on which they twist the thread. It is simply mixed with water. It is never used to paint the body; it also falls far back for the implements and appears almost solely on the masks, the painting of which need last but a few days, on painted bark pieces, and the like.

/419/ Charcoal and soot, the berry-pulp of the genipap tree, (Genipa) and a number of resins furnish black. In order to blacken the inside of the gourd shells charcoal from the bark of the buriti shaft is used.

[262] 524 [304] The yellowish-red to brownish-red loam seems to have been driven out by the urucú dyestuff. It was formerly eaten and is still molded into heavy dolls for children and is rubbed on wounds for scarification.

[824] Charcoal and soot are rubbed in directly, like the white, or they are also mixed with liquid, like the urucú. Either the oil from the pikí fruit (Caryocar butyrosum) is used, or the yellow extract containing caoutchouc from a tree of the campo cerrado, which the Bakaïrí call ochogohi and the bark of which is grated and made into an extract with water. The colors are mixed in a gourd shell or a pot or, when a hard resin is broken up with the ax blade, most conveniently in the cup-shaped depression of a stool. Urucú is always found as a paste wrapped in leaves in the little workbasket beside the hammock.

The dyestuffs available to the natives are therefore white, black, red, and yellow. The genipap-black is blue-black, the urucú-red a brick-red to orange, which, mixed with the yellow ochogohi juice, loses a good deal of its red. There are no blue or green dyestuffs.

121 196 The theory that the color sense developed gradually for human beings, based on the fact that color distinction in language is inadequate up to a high level of culture and that blue and green in particular are extraordinarily often designated with the same word, has now been abandoned. It was found among all the primitive peoples investigated that they distinguish excellently

/261 cont./

776 have with the piahi and with the common people (wanololo,
756 from waono, "first"; cf. Ger. "der erste der beste" /first come
773 first served/.

At the waterfalls of the Paranatinga, a fearsome place
776 where Keri and Came tossed the Mama, an enchanted red
778 stone /262/ with which they killed Mero and Arimoto, there
756 is underneath the Mama the dream (Vèdu) which they tore from the lizard's eyes. There dwells the father of smallpox (turi); those who come near him fall ill; when the time for the leaping of the matrimxans /a kind of fish/ comes, anyone near-by who talks or laughs is thrown into the water. The curer runs no risk by coming near; if he becomes angry, he can bless the sleep and this one gets up and wanders off.

756 How does the curer reach this fullness of powers which in his discourses he so often hurls at those whom he contemptuously calls "common people"? Through a very long and painful apprenticeship, which few persons have the courage to undergo to the end and to the letter.

First of all, the curer candidate (piahi-he-ini) must find an experienced curer who will tell him what he must do and protect him against the enemies whom he is bound to encounter. On his part, in addition, the future curer must not leave a single breach through which the enemy, the Karówi, might enter, the so envious and so evil yamũras, whose principal occupation, it would seem, is to go in search of the slightest carelessness in order to punish it inexorably.

Such is the object of the rigorous training to which he must submit if he wishes to rise to the heights where the true curer dwells.

[276] The novice begins by drinking various drugs, such as
[825] timbo, pindova, vaimbé, and other cipos, in order to learn
[262] the language of animals and of Karowi, a sort of Curupira; he cannot eat pirão, mingáu, fat, meat, lambari /a kind of fish/, flying things, /263/ tamanduas, or honey; his food consists exclusively of beijú and polvilho broth.

/261 cont./

352 The Bakairí slept in hammocks, amaka, woven of palm fiber.
[415] Their furnishings can be summed up as benches of a solid
[285] piece of wood, clay pots, mats and baskets. The diet rests
262 upon manioc, piquí, sweet potatoes, maize, and fish. How-
224 ever, the hunting of monkeys, wild pig, tapir, and other ani-
[241] mals was not scorned. Most of the food reserves, however, were of vegetable origin, and the most important harvests were made up of manioc, maize, sweet potatoes, and piquí. Yams /cará/, cotton, urucú, and tobacco were also planted.

342 The occupants of a communal house worked together on
476 the building of a new house, acquiring thereby the right to
622 reside in it. This construction work, however, was led by the individual who had the most prestige in the group, usually the old head of the house, who thus set himself up as the head of
241 the new house. The tasks of clearing fields and planting
476 generally depended on the participation of all the aldea. When
527 beginning a new clearing, the Bakairí would give a feast, kométe, with the distribution of food to the Indians who worked
501 on the field. The Bakairí made canoes from the bark of the
[824] jatobá tree, in the Xinguano way. This construction, as well
[782] as fishing, hunting, and agricultural activities, were accompanied by propitiatory rituals.

437 Their products were bartered among neighboring groups
574 in the course of visits called tuliki which depended on the presence of the chiefs of both aldeas. After the exchange of the objects desired, the visitors were honored with a feast called tulake.

621 /262/ The Bakairí were not a warlike people, and their
181 political organization does not seem very elaborate. Each
622 aldea had a chief, pima, assisted by a subchief, itáida. The
624 Bakairí do not remember the existence of a chief for the whole
[643] tribe, and there is no evidence that such a figure ever existed. The selection of the itáida was made by means of agreement of the aldea, but it generally fell on the son of the pima himself. The pima's functions were chiefly ceremonial, economic, and juridical.

/263 cont./

000 dangers that surrounded them. Pregnancy, enokua, was
843 recognized by the cessation of the menstrual periods. When
● 262 the abdomen of the pregnant woman began to attain visible
proportions, a diet based on vegetal foods and fish was initiated.
844 As the time of delivery drew near, a separate section was
[784] built inside the houses; the parturient was segregated and re-
mained uanki. Female relatives helped in the delivery under
the direction of an experienced woman. The parturient gave
[845] birth sitting on her heels. In difficult cases they washed her
abdomen and sides with a hot infusion of cotton leaves. The
umbilical cord was cut by the parturient herself or by her hus-
band, and it was buried along with the placenta outside the
844 house. After the birth, eraseli, the child was washed and
784 handed over to the parents; later it would be given the name
846 of some dead relative. During the birth and for some time
[553] afterward, the child and its parents remained in a state of
uanki. The end of the seclusion was signaled by the first
846 menstrual period of the parturient, and it was marked by a
796 feast called tadaunúto. The restoration of the parents and the
784 child to the bosom of the community was accomplished by
means of a feast called itabiénli.

When children reached puberty they were secluded,
uanki, for a period of several months. They could not come
out in daylight, and they were fed and looked after by their
[856] relatives. It was believed that the greater or lesser duration
of the young people's uanki period would lead to their better
[622] or worse physical constitution. On the other hand, a chief's
son had to remain in seclusion longer than usual. The period
881 of seclusion began for boys with the ritual of the perforation of
304 the ears (usually undergone in groups). Girls had their ears
784 perforated immediately after birth, and their seclusion was
marked by the advent of the first menses. The end of the uanki
784 state was also celebrated with the tadaunúto. The girls then
881 began to wear uluri, that is to say, triangular genital coverings
796 about three centimeters square made of tree bark.
881
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754 /266 cont./ But in the event the illness has been
755 caused by another sorcerer, it would be necessary to find out first the vehicle of the disease. This might be a small piece of charred wood, a thin cotton thread, or a small piece of bone, tossed from a distance and thus introduced into the patient's body. The sorcerer would suck at the afflicted part, thus withdrawing the cause of the illness.

754 /267/ Our informants could tell us nothing about diseases
[114] caused by omeoto (evil sorcerers) mentioned by Karl von den
[753] Steinen. According to the latter, in order to injure an Indian, a sorcerer would cook in a pot a lizard into whose throat he had previously inserted the skin of the middle finger of a corpse. The agony and death of the lizard were matched simultaneously by the agony and death of the victim. (13)

13. Karl von den Steinen, op. cit., p. 442.

[114] In our opinion, this method hardly seems to be indigenous and
[197] is probably the result of acculturation. However, our informants did not know about it.

756 In order to become a sorcerer, a youth had to undergo
[834] training for a period that lasted from six to 12 months, sub-
[262] mitting to rigorous sexual abstinence and an exclusively vegetal
784 diet. Throughout the initiation period the candidate remained uanki, enclosed in the kaioeti. Part of the training, meanwhile, was carried out in distant places, where the novice learned the healing properties of certain roots, as well as the secrets related to the supernatural world. The training ended
[787] with the acquisition, on the candidate's part, of a guardian
[276] spirit, or iamũra. This acquisition was made during a trance into which the candidate has fallen by means of the ingestion of narcotic substances. After this the new sorcerer had to prove his power, either through small acts such as finding lost objects or by curing a sick person.

/267 cont./

In regard to initiation, Karl von den Steinen tells us that the candidate had to subsist solely on starch broth, hit himself continually on the head, and at the same time scratch his arms and chest until blood ran. (14) On the other hand,

14. Karl von den Steinen, op. cit., pp. 440-441.

Capistrano de Abreu relates that the novice had to swallow "drugs such as timbo, pindova, vaimbé, and other cipos" and learn the language of kacoui. On the day of the initiation the candidate would go for a walk with his master, who gave him the infusion to drink. (15)

15. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 235-238.

The Bakairí had quite an elaborate ceremonial system, as may be inferred from the information obtained /268/ the Indians of Simões Lopes. Dancing and singing were done not only when there was an abundance of food or when economic activities permitted it, but especially at times such as the maize harvest, or the occasion when the ears of the boys about to be secluded were pierced, or at times of the celebration of the tadaunito, or end of the uanki state, the building of houses, the beginning of the clearing of a field, or finally the distribution of cotton among the women. On these occasions neighboring groups were invited and the festivities lasted for days. Bakairí musical instruments consisted of bamboo flutes and bells for the feet made of piquí shells. The informants recalled four kinds of flutes: enimi and kanagera, sacred flutes kept hidden from the eyes of women and children, and tadina and nakigoro, used in secular festivities. The Bakairí also had gourds filled with seeds or stones, called palo, and wooden sticks decorated with geometric designs.

/269 cont./

539 fat in order to stay warm. The Indians wanted the sun to come out, and so they donned their apparel, painted their bodies, and began to ask Orimoro, the great spirit. Orimoro was not an Indian but a man who lived in a stone house with some animals which he had created. The Indians went on asking until finally the light broke out; but the Indians had already grown old and the children had already grown up.

996 The data at our disposal do not permit us to place in Bakairí cosmology beings such as Tchini-ouma, Keri-kamé, or Orimoro and Nakoeri. Nevertheless, we prefer to regard Nakoeri as the supreme being of the Bakairí, leaving to Tchini-ouma, Keri-kamé (the sun and the moon), and Orimoro the role of culture heroes, until new work clarifies their respective functions.

812 13 433 Compelled to deal with a hostile environment, such as the savannas and forests of the headwaters of the Xingu, and lacking an adequate technology, the Bakairí, like the other Xinguano Indians, depended to a large extent on uncertain factors such as the amount of rainfall and the resulting annual increase of waters, which led to a scarcity or an abundance of food. Lacking an adequate technology, they did not store their produce but lived on a subsistence economy. Their hunting and fishing activities were followed by magic rituals with which they attempted to control the possibility of sudden future calamities or even of illnesses. Thus agricultural activities and the building of houses or canoes had to be followed by propitiations. In order to utilize the vegetal or animal raw materials, it was necessary to know how to control uncertain elements: How explain, for example, why one canoe splits and another does not, when both were made by the same craftsman? How explain how the same /270/ foods sometimes appeared harmless and sometimes made people ill? The system of beliefs of the Bakairí seems to us an interpretation that

78 224 226 241 396 782 364 77

[P.91-B]

placed in a hole in the septum of the nose, so that the feathers swung one on each side of the head. Although the *ptiko*, or scratcher, was not strictly an ornament, it is mentioned here because it had ritual meaning. The *ptiko* was made by setting fish teeth into a gourd holder and was used for scarifying the skin of the arms, legs, chest, and back so as to cause bleeding. The wounds were first washed with water and later smeared with the juice of the *wukúna* vine. The *ptiko* was used by boys and girls during puberty seclusion and by adults who had sores on their bodies. It was believed that the use of the *ptiko* made people strong and healthy. As far as could be ascertained the Bacairí did not mutilate the teeth, genitals, or other parts of the body. There was no sign of tattooing, but pubic hair was carefully pulled out by both men and women. Formerly the Bacairí kept large birds, believed to belong to the eagle family, in their villages for their feathers. The Brazilians call the bird "harpia" and claim that it is still kept by the Indians in the Xingú Basin. The "harpia" was captured by shooting it with a blunted arrow, and it was kept in a special hut and fed. Villages often had several of these birds in captivity, the feathers being used particularly for feathering arrows. Parrots and macaws were also kept, their feathers being used only for ceremonial decorations.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Vegetable foods formed the basis of Bacairí diet, with fish and meat taking second and third places. The principal animals hunted were monkeys, deer, wild pigs, tapir, and the jaguar. The jaguar, however, was not eaten, but was hunted for its skin, teeth, and claws. The principal weapon used was the bow and arrow. Hunters would stalk game alone or in groups with the aid of dogs driving game into water or into steep rocky enclosures. There is no mention of the spear being used, but deadfalls and pitfalls were used. Many varieties of large fish were shot with the bow and arrow, either from canoes or from the river bank. Lizards, turtles, and a wide variety of wild fruits, roots, tender shoots, and honey were collected at certain seasons of the year.

The major part of the food supply, however, was obtained through agriculture. The Bacairí cultivated bitter manioc, *ôpa;* sweet manioc, *tsiéf;*

Bacairí

323 pots are quite distinct from the pottery of the Indians living on the Upper Paraguay River. Bacairí pots are flat-bottomed and have straight vertical walls with everted rims. The pots in common use were, and still are, black in color, unglazed, and undecorated. Some of the pots [532] been were made in the forms of frogs, turtles, fish, and birds. The Bacairí claim that they [531] formerly had decorated pottery called *amága*, painted with black, gray, red, and brown designs.

476 The Bacairí also had economic activities in which the whole village, or a number of communal houses, participated. The *kenatí*, or collective land clearing, was one of these. A man would invite a large number of relatives and friends to assist him in clearing a new piece of forest land. The women would participate by pre- ● [212] paring large amounts of food and honey beverage for the workers. The new field would remain the property of the man who initiated the *kenatí*, obligating him to work in return if called upon, but sometimes the group of men who cleared the field would divide it among them.

342 476 House building was always an enterprise in which the whole village took part. The group that was interested in raising the house cut the beams and poles necessary for the framework and prepared large quantities of food. While a certain number of men began to put up the framework, others went to gather grass for thatching. [533] When they returned with the thatching they put on their ceremonial decorations and danced the *makulusúri* dance. House building was thus not only an economic act but also a ceremonial occasion.

286 476 Hammock weaving was, at times, a collective enterprise. A woman with a larger than usual cotton crop distributed cotton among her friends and when the work was completed she organized a feast and dance.

437 628 574 [622] Ceremonial trading expeditions (*talih*) were organized by the chief of the village. During the rainy seasons, when the rivers were high and canoe travel easy, the men of a village would collect whatever excess goods they had, such as bows, baskets, ornaments, hammocks, and even food, and would go to a neighboring village where the chief would receive them before the ceremonial house. The two chiefs would then supervise the exchange of commodities. After the trading was

527 gather the ceremonial corn. Later in the day the women prepared large quantities of corn porridge and roasted ears.

On the morning of the third day the actual ceremony began in front of the *kadoéti*. The organizer of the dance distributed roasted ears or pieces of ears to all the villagers, children included. Then at a signal from the leader, the villagers began throwing the roasted corn in all directions and at one another. After the roasted corn was [262] disposed of, the people ate the corn porridge and meat prepared on the preceding day. They then washed themselves in the river and put on their paint and ornaments. When the villagers had again gathered before the *kadoéti* the dance leader took a piece of corn husk and went from man 527 to man asking for a song leader. The man who 533 took the offered corn husk then began the *yawoiedri*, or song in praise of corn. Little by little the others joined in the singing and eventually began to dance. The words of the song told how corn came to the Bacairí and how it made the people strong and healthy.

491 The *ranaegéro*, or ear-piercing ceremony, was 304 performed just before a boy went into puberty seclusion. It was customary for men who had sons of about the same age to cooperate in getting large quantities of food ready for the feast. After the feast was over the ears of the boys were pierced [533] and the *poinaedto* song was sung. When boys and girls came out of seclusion there was another ceremony during which all the songs and dances were performed with the exception of the sacred flute tunes.

342 The *makulaedri* was performed during coopera- 476 tive house building in which the whole village participated. While the women prepared food and some men were putting up the frame, a certain [529] number of men went in search of palm fronds for thatching. When these men returned with the palm fronds they danced and sang before the new house with their loads on their backs and in full ceremonial regalia.

346 The custom of distributing cotton by a woman 527 with a good cotton crop and having other women weave hammocks for her has already been mentioned. When the women had completed their weaving and returned the hammocks to the donor of the cotton, she gave a feast during which the [535] women sang and danced the *yamaikúma*. This

Bacairi SP7

Geographically the post is situated ideally on a high land removed from the river and cleared of all vegetation, the jungle appearing only as a narrow fringe along the river banks. Like the rest of the high plateau it is wind swept, and generally pleasant. It must be added that contact with white people, such as is had when a small group of natives go to Cuyabá, has brought syphilis to them, and it may be their mortality is due to this.

One occupation enjoyed in former times is denied them, and that is fishing. There are practically no fish in the Paranatinga, at least up to where the post is located. Since meat is gotten only on rare occasions, and no hunting is done, the diet is mainly one of vegetables and considerably poorer than when they were living in their original state. This may also explain their lowered resistance to disease.

Very little museum material which represents their own products can be collected from the Bakairi. What has not been gotten from the Inspectoria has been brought back on excursions to the Kuluseu. Pottery has not been made since their coming to the post, according to them. The huge vessels that they possess either have been brought with them from their former homes or bartered from the tribes on the Kuluseu. It is claimed that the proper clay cannot be found in the neighborhood of Simõe Lopes.

Arrows are still being made, an iron nail generally being substituted for the old bone point, but most of the arrows also come from the Kuluseu.

For the old hammock made of palm-leaf fibre the cotton hammock has been substituted, but the same open net style has been kept.

Mussel shell ornaments have also been bought from the tribes of the Kuluseu. In brief, almost anything that is found in their village must bear the suspicion that it is not a Bakairi product.

However, they have preserved a few customs, such as filing the upper teeth to a point, wearing under the European clothing the gee string, and ceremonial use of the bull-roarer, and they probably remember many of their ceremonies.

The short time spent at the post was mostly devoted to taking anthropmetric measurements, which were subsequently lost on the Kuluseu, but in some notes I do find the statement that in blood groupings most belong to groups three and four, the former predominating.